608 The Monguors, in taking this oath, never open a vein and drink their own blood as was done traditionally among the Turks and Mongols, among whom this kind of institutional brotherhood is known by the term ***anda***.[32] In this ceremony each man opened a vein in his arm, mixed the blood in a cup with milk or fermented milk-wine, in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter each was not only the sworn brother of the other, but each enjoyed in his blood-brother's clan the same rights and privileges as if he were born from the same womb, and conversely was bound by the obligations expected of an elder or younger brother.[33]

Analogous ceremonies are known from the Polar regions to southern Asia. In the region of the Behring Straits, among the Koryaks, Italmen, and Yukagirs, a dinner is given, at which the men pledge mutual aid. Among the Koryaks and Yukagirs there is an exchange of possessions. Women and girls may also swear friendship or sisterhood in this manner.[34]

Among the Tungus the custom seems to be relatively recent and to have spread directly from the Chinese and indirectly from the Chinese through the Manchus. In taking the oath, the Tungus pray to the spirit of Heaven. Shirokogoroff considers that this is a borrowed custom because within Tungus society the relations of persons belonging to different clans were quite satisfactorily regulated.[35]

In Southwest China, among the Miao of the Province of Kueichou a cat is killed and its blood is mixed with wine and drunk;[36] in another account of Miao ceremony, Legendre notes that there are no religious ceremonies and that a dog is killed and its blood mixed with wine and drunk.[37]

608 782 Monguors, in addition to taking as witnesses "Heaven and all the spirits" or a temple deity, may invoke the buildings of a temple, or a well-known scripture such as the Kandjur or Tandjur, or a Living Buddha. The curses that are invoked in case of disloyalty are worded in such phrases as: "If I break my oath, may I be a man who has eaten the flesh of his own parents"; or "A man

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[32] The difference between *anda* sworn brotherhood and the institution of *nukur*, which has been mentioned above, is that the *nukur* was more purely military; he was a "man-at-arms" who, instead of serving in tribal ranks where loyalty and discipline were automatically covered by tribal sanctions, declared himself to be henceforth the follower of some military leader to whom he owed no blood-allegiance, but to whom henceforth he would profess a loyalty transcending that to clan and tribe. In the *anda* institution there was seniority, but also an equality of brotherhood. In the *nukur* relationship there was the strict subordination of the follower to the leader.—O. L.

[33] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 61, Paris, 1896.

[34] Hubert Konig, Das Recht der Polarvölker, *Anthropos* 22: 736, 1927.

[35] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Tungus*, as cited, 736.

[36] P. A. Schotter, Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus aborigènes du Kouy-tcheou, *Anthropos* 3: 419, 1908.

[37] A. F. Legendre, *Le far-west chinois*, 448, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910.

[P. 106 b]

608 782 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[38]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 685 Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 648 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

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[38] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

241 dug out with spades in the form of large, rough bricks, which are set out in rows to dry. The next spring, before sowing, these bricks are built into a long oven. The outside is plastered with mud, and after incense and boughs of cypress have been burned to propitiate the Spirit of the Earth, a fire is built in the oven. After it has burned for two days the "bricks" have crumbled into ashes. Men and women carry these ashes in baskets on their backs and scatter them on the fields that are to be sown. In some places this heavy work is done by the women alone.

241 782 ● Plowing and sowing begin on the propitious day and at the appointed hour designated in the old Chinese lunar calendar. Strips of red paper inscribed with auspicious Chinese characters are pasted on all the farming implements and on the horns of the oxen. Red, in the symbolism of the Chinese, is the color for joy, fertility, and good fortune.[3]

At the appointed hour the whole family, all in their best clothes, go to the fields. The procession is led by the head of the family, guiding a plow drawn by a pair of oxen. He plows a furrow in a large circle and then a cross within the circle in such a manner that when the second stroke of the cross is completed the heads of the oxen are pointing in the direction from which, according to geomantic divination, happiness and prosperity are expected to emanate during the year. This direction may vary from year to year. The family then steps into the center of the circle, kneels, and burns incense and boughs of cypress. The head of the family offers to the Spirit of the Earth a large, flat circular loaf of bread in the center of which there is a hole in which he plants incense sticks. The family prostrate themselves while the head of the family pours a libation of wine on the ground and sprinkles wine toward the "six corners" of the universe.[4] The bread is then divided into small pieces and each member of the family, and also the two oxen, are given a piece to eat on the spot. The remainder is broken into crumbs and thrown on the field. All then return home except those who complete the plowing, and sowing begins as soon as the plowing is finished.

The Chinese in this region do not have this custom, and it is possible that the Monguors took it over from the Tibetans who have a similar ceremony of beginning the farming season by blessing the earth and asking the gods for a good harvest and for protection against hail.[5]

241 243 The Monguor field crops are barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp, and potatoes. Very little millet is grown. When the Monguors plow a virgin field, they plant barley for the first six years and wheat only the seventh year, because the earth of such fields is too

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[3] White (which for the Chinese is the color of mourning) is the traditional auspicious and noble color of the Mongols.—O. L.

[4] The four quarters of the compass; upward (for the sky), and downward (for below the surface of the earth).—O. L.

[5] MacDonald, *Mœurs et coûtumes tibétaines*, 229, Paris, Payot, 1930.

[p. 111 b]

/57 cont'd/

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1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

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After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece

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of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

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1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782] As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

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[354] 1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

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a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

[776
[782]
The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

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As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang
[782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her
312] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

587 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled
583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning
177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, sooth-
787 saying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit."
It proceeds as follows:

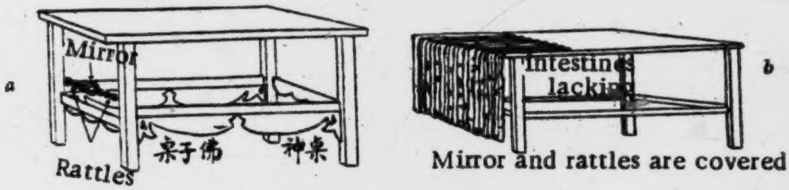
A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the
family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and
[264] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying
is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre-
[782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning
throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes
[783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth.
Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted
[788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times.
He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[20 cont.]

*778 The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have [824] grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2



a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purġan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purġan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. [562] If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, and smith. [463] It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. [782] In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] [326] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. [782] The latter then offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. [788] The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, while the incense offering is presented outside. [322] [326] The carpenter receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[20 cont.]

*778 It does not matter who puts the spear together. No special
ceremonies are connected with it. Now the owner tends to the
bands, bells, and copper plates. The bells are the ordinary
little rattling bells, such as horses wear around their necks. One
[792] can take the spear to a lamic monastery or have it consecrated
at home; the ceremonies are the same in both places.

*778 The consecration of the spear: The spear cannot be consecrated by an ordinary lama; he must be a Living Buddha.
792 Only he has the power to make a spirit live in the spear.

After the hutukhtu has been entertained in the customary fashion, the general ceremonies of the lama-reception have been carried out, and the tormas [sacrificial objects made of dough] [21] stand in front of the household altar, the consecration begins. Young hutukhtus perform it in the household chapel, but old ones remain seated on the warm kang in the main house.

The master of the household drives the spear in the ground in front of the lama, unless he holds it in his hands standing upright during the entire ceremony. Another brings the attachments for the spear on a tray. First the bands and then the rattles and the mirror are attached. If the hutukhtu does not want to do this himself, it will be done by an assisting lama or by a man. Every piece, before it is tied on, is held in the incense that is kept ready in an iron spoon.

*778 Once the spear has been thus prepared, the master of the
●[782] household takes it either into the chapel or to the shelf before
the household altar, where he sticks it in a large stand. In
front of it he burns fragrant sandalwood incense, sets up little
burning oil- or butter-lamps, and offers little bowls with barley,
wine, and water, and finally a large loaf of wheat bread weighing several pounds. The hutukhtu at this point goes to stand in
[783] front of the spear and sprinkles it with the consecrated wumba-
[792] water. He then sits down with his legs crossed on a white felt
mat in front of the spear and gives the prayer of consecration.
Then he rises, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley from a little
plate handed to him, blows over it, and casts it over the spear
with his right hand. Meanwhile all those present kowtow in

[21 cont.]
*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in
front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells
this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and
the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one
spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tieṅgëre or the god of heaven
never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary
spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the
mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house until
[792] the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropriate
remuneration. The master of the household, however, invites
[527] his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into
the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a
spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the
case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is
regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it
stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the
many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall
in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a
special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed
specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand
in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor.
All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance,
one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
●[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the
spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no
spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is simply
*778 called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard.
It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

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*778
[824]

[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: šdien kãṅ (Tib.) - holy house.
[23]
192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
● 782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
787

3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English]. It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

192
787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġān xärgēdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

[28 cont.]

756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

[411] 2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
[783] his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his
● [782] garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p, 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

[576] Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

[782] The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come
[792] from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration:
776 the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons.
463 He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron
spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdíen (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nańsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

> 10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bō̃, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bō̃dzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ğsolkā̃ (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo šguē̃ (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[38 cont.]

792 Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before
796 each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great
lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent
● 782 offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the
778 table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that
comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),
and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas
are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

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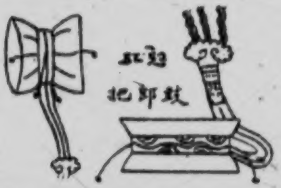

Fig. 4.

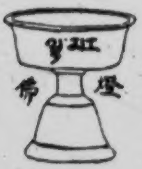

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

[38 cont.]

792 to the animals (2).

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[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning šdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.] torma that at the conclusion of the tšam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him [788] on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to entertain
465 him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears
with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

[262] [782] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

792 [39 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great [782] occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in [788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782] [272] [554] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

792 796 574 Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mãntsia (mãndzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā̃-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[351] [Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] 000

III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See"Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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[356]
[783]
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Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean. The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which young and old gather during the day. The master of the house washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

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1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since washbowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

372 [43 cont.]

782 [Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.]
572 takes a second mouthful and lets it
[783 run out of the mouth over the cupped
575] hands and washes them; the third
mouthful, allowed to run into the
hand in the same way, serves to
wash the face. This is repeated as
desired, until one is clean. In case
someone has a washbowl, he may
under no circumstances forget to
rinse his mouth, because that is part
of the purification for a religious
ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold [788] kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the
[592 incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member
562] of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though
[178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or
[778] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

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778 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzãn tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven.
[177] In many instances, the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

[44 cont.]

782 372 Offerings: The fire[1] need not be taken from the hearth or from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 824 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).

3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar: tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Das, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should [778] be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, sań), according to the informant, comes from the

[1] [i.e the fire for the morning offering — ANALYST]

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.] Tibetan. Thus, it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies. [783]

[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but
[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the
[263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color;
therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

[439] The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop.
[824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.]
Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot
[262] be imagined without tsamba. They
roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.),
[252] that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain,
and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-
[171] grain flour is eaten exactly as among
the Tibetans (Fandse). After the con-
[264] sumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48]
kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loanword, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

782 [Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.]
192 "evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is mis-
leading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives
the meaning: "an article, thing,
material, object" [cited in English],
and further: *de'i rdsas*, "requisites
for this purpose (*sc.*, unclean matters);
especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc.,
hence also used as identical with
magical agency" [cited in English].
This last signification is applicable
to the accompanying gifts and offer-
ings in connection with conjuring
away demons; cf. *rdzē* in the chapters,
"The Demon Escort," "The Figure
Conjuring," etc. The explanation
in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord
with this: "object that one releases
with the aim of being freed from an
evil (money or some other object
is added to it), ransom" [translated from
French]. *rdzē*, therefore, is to be
understood in the very widest sense
as outfit, utensils, provision of the
gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), ad-
ditions to the offering, etc., as is
shown by the plethora of the incense
gifts. These additions correspond
[177] extensively with the additions for the
earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but
they probably are to be traced back
only to Lamaist influence, for in the
Tujeń songs that mention the incense
offering they are never mentioned,
in contrast to the tree of life, the
water, and the flowers, which are
[824] never absent. The most important
flower, mentioned again and again,

[44 cont.]

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is the kanba; cf. Part Two, "The Incense Offering." This flower has a strong, very fragrant scent which can be perceived far and wide at the incense offering. The Tujen name corresponds with the Tibetan (Unkrig). Ch. Das (p. 140) translates k'am-pa as Tanacetum tomentosum and designates it as a "very aromatic plant growing in the high mountains of Tibet" [cited in English]. Dinand identifies the flower as the tansy, Tanacetum vulgare; cf. Handbuch der Heilpflanzen [Handbook of Medicinal Plants], p. 211, with illustration, Pl. XXIII, 2. According to G.A. Stuart, it belongs to the species Artemisia vulgaris, which is exceedingly aromatic. He distinguishes three kinds: Artemisia Indica, -- Sinensis (ai-hao), -- moxa; cf. Chinese materia medica, p. 52. -- From the use of the cypress and the flowers, one can conclude that from the outset the incense offering is to be conceived of, not as a burned offering, but as an aromatic offering. -- For further details concerning the incense offering, see Part Two. -- With respect to rdzē, cf. also the chapter, "The Earth-God Urn."

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They are the same kinds as those the lama mixes in at the consecration of the wumba-water. The Tujen names have been lost. In Tibetan they are called "the good six." There are the following kinds: cloves, saffron, cardamom, marl (?), nutmeg, camphor.

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Instead of the water, one can also squirt milk or barley wine into the fire. They are then no longer called milk or

[44 cont.]

782 wine, however, but "libation" (6). Nevertheless water is always superior. It must be pure, from a well, a spring, or a river. Standing water, for instance, that from a kitchen tub, may not be drawn by anyone, however pure it might be. The water is sprinkled into the fire with a cypress twig (10).

6. [Foreign text p. 48.] The informant observed that "libation" is otherwise only called tusa; only in the case of the incense offering would one say tsiab. The rite implies, however, that it is not a matter of a libation at all. Drink-offerings are always poured on the ground. Here, however, the water is sprinkled on the fire; in addition, in this case water is preferred to all other liquids and is regarded as the purest and most superior. This requires a different interpretation. As a loanword, tsiab corresponds to the Tibetan c'ab. Ch. Das (p. 409) explains c'ab: "water in any form; but not used like c'u to signify a river" [cited in English]. He further mentions sṅa c'ab as water with which the monks moisten their tongues before starting a religious ceremony, in order to purify themselves, which is approximately the same as the above-described purification before
783 the incense offering. In other words, the tsiab is nothing other than a purification of the fire by sprinkling it with water. Later the people came to think of it as an offering and used milk and wine for it. Nonetheless, the awareness has remained that it should really be water.

[44 cont.]

782 10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each [556] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

782 The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not 534 every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely neces- [439] sary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dȭṅ is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan duń; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[45 cont.]

●782 534 [Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] "trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this *la-pa* is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation *pi-li* for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb *pilie* (to blow); for instance, *dõṅgë pilie* = to blow the conch. The Chinese say *ch'uei pi-li* for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply *luo* (*lo*), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. *Duṅ-ma*, Sanskr. *Mangala śankha*) is called *pao-lo t'ien-nü*, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, *Pantheon*, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

[171] The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (*Preta*) and lead them into the paradise of joys (*Tushita*); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, *loc. cit.* Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): *duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il* (Sanskr. *dakṣiṇā varta śankha*). [755] The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, [578] it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra šis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

782 183 [262] All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

782 [776] Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

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The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9). [782]

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9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

[45 cont.]

783 [Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
372 this purificatory effect, however,
782 but also the incense itself. This is
shown by its name, "purity-wood,"
and by the use of bsañs as a verb,
which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316),
means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited
in English]. For this reason incense is
also scattered in the water with the red-
hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for
cultic purification.

Word List

192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziŏdzẽ (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzā̃ṅ (śdzā̃ṅ, dzā̃ṅ, sā̃ṅ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzāṅ sdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talġa (11).

11. [Foreign text p: 49.] talġa: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

ġlu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the
dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There
[824] are four kinds, of which the black and
the white are the best. The white
[757] Angelica is used against sickness from
the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is
called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

snaġsog: Tib. sna = many, and
ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-ši =
Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum =
[824] saffron, crocus. sësmiel: Tib. sug-smel
(rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

[45 cont.]

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824

[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] (white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlē) sëmăn; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmăn (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Kănba flowers: kănba.

Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzãṅ rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: guškum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

192 [46]

782 Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: dõṅ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërē mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sũndur (Tib. loanword).

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[241] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
● [782] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
[778] szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
[292] wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

137
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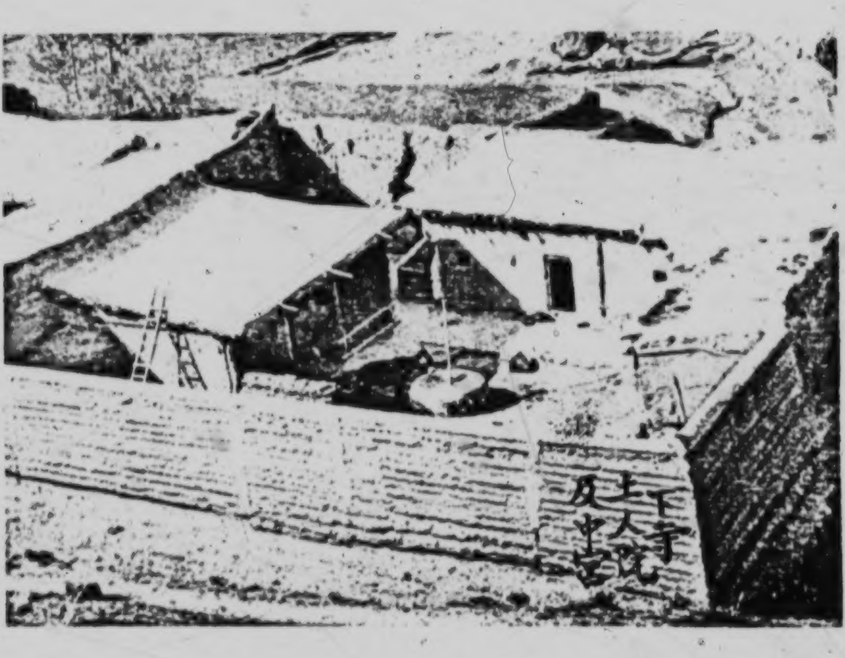

(Caption on following page.)

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778
[137] [297] a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

[782] b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342] [351] [417] c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

080 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

353 *778 [792] [777] In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[51 cont.]

777 *778 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 *778 ● 782 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 *778 [527] At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet, and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama stays until the following morning.

[787] [585] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for soothsaying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

[1] [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[55]

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3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*778 [357] In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is [791] determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same [792] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes [782] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great [351] incense offering is presented three times daily.

[784] At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, [782] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household, [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[56 cont.]

782 *778 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumigating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the following gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 527 [792] The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

791 *778 [782 792 592] Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787] 2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[57 cont.]

*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

[192] 7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

*778 796 782 On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play [171] an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

[58 cont.]

*778 [Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
796 New Year, very early in the morn-
•782 ing, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-
782 pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the
[791] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The
[787] soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days.
[357] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. --
[784] The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama,
[792] since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is
[372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] The various meanings of *dkyil 'k'or* are given there, particularly as the equivalent of the Sanskritic word *maṇḍala*, the magical circles and figures and representations of the divine dwellings, etc. (cf. the chapter, "The Pole-Goat"); furthermore, for the conception of the universe under consideration here, "According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are *sa-yi dkyil 'k'or* the sphere of earth, *c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or* the sphere of water, the ocean, *rluñ-gi dkyil 'k'or* the atmosphere, *me-yi dkyil 'k'or* the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i.e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light [cited in English] (Ch. Das, *loc. cit.*). If one puts this orthodox Lamaist explanation beside the old man's explanation, he sees how indigenous and alive this conception is among the Tujen, how it is literally built into the existential sphere.

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The air-horse does not really seem to belong in this conceptual picture, and it could not be learned from the informant what the air-horse, in other words, the *mani*-flag, has to do with the world mountain, why it is attached to it. He thought that it would hang high on it and could flutter well in the wind, and, with its prayer and magical formulas, it would be the same as a prayer-mill that is likewise turned by the wind on the roof. Other

[59 cont.]

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[775]

[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

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Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardzioġ (Tib.).
The mast: dardzioġ gändzë (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).
The sun: nara.
The moon: sata.
For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.
The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].
The flag: dardzioġ (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;
loṅšda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;
lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63.] loṅšda is the Tibetan rluṅ rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

[59 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.]
192 Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf.
*778 Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic
[773] imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day.

●[782] For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck
[171] horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the . . .ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 ●782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[64 cont.]

*778 always thrown in, so the pile constantly grows. The outer wall of the mound is covered with whitewash. The twelve small stonepiles are called "obo children." An urn is buried under each of them.

The obo frame: The frame that is set on the stone mound has four strong corner-posts connected by crossbeams as thick as an arm. There are no regulations for its construction, not even for its material. When this frame falls into disrepair, it is replaced by a new one and the remains of the old one are used in any way desired. Depending on the size of the obo, there are frames from one to three meters long at the sides and up to two meters high. The frame serves entirely for holding weapons, tree twigs, and poles.

*778 782 Votive offerings: In the obo frame are placed wooden weapons, such as spears, swords, arrows, bows, and pikes, recently even wooden rifles. Furthermore, tree twigs and mani-flags are stuck in between.

There are no regulations concerning the wood. Bunches of sheep wool are tied to both the weapons and the tree twigs. The spears are sometimes painted red and wound spirally with strips of black cloth. The swords are likewise painted black up to the handle. The flocks of wool on the spear tip are a substitute for the spear tassels, which on real spears consist of bundles of white yak tails colored red. The black color signifies iron. Formerly the spears were wound spirally with strips of tin.

[824] The tree twigs are usually from poplars, fir trees, and cypresses. Cypresses and fir trees are preferred. The leaves may be left on them. Smooth twigs with the bark removed may also replace the spears.

Other offerings, too, are thrown inside the frame on the stone mound, such as white stones, gold, silver, money, grain, sugar, butter, flowers, tea leaves, etc. Silk threads and hadas are tied to the obo frame; a silk string is drawn around the

[178] frame. Formerly the obo was draped with valuable cloths, but

[64 cont.]
*778 nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long
•782 silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and
[178] silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

> 2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is no connection between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white
[788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions
[621] concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured
over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the
directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the
same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven,
three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the
countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering
for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of
the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three
more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are
poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days,
depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays
personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[66 cont.]

782 [533] Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 782 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women,
old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the
mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths,
and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear
throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527 [171] [Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.]
Mongols and Tangut. According to
the informant, a day in the sixth
month is always chosen, but it does
not always have to be the sixth day.
It is the time at which formerly the
obos were erected, and it seems to be
a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowa-
[178] days these festivals have more or less
degenerated into a Chinese commer-
cial racket, as has, for instance, the
festival in the New Year's month at
Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is
really a Tujen festival. Only the
horse racing and the singing of songs
have remained from olden times.

*778 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the
776 mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass,
trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs
to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil)
and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are
his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is
●[782] made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves
[825] become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-
spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched
their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And
[411] they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peace-
ful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they
surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[782] The mountain-spirit is given something from everything
that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[67 cont.]

192 Obo mountain:	lawdzē ūla.
*778 To erect obo:	lawdzē paġguni.
Obo pit:	lawdzē nukuo.
Stone mound:	tašē soġdō.
Obo frame:	lawdzē dziadzē (Chin.).
Whitewashing:	tsiġandē budē.
Contents of the obo pit:	rdzē.
[782] Votive offerings for the obo:	lawdzē šdodlōdzān ntsuomdzia = weapons placed on the obo.
Spear:	dzida.
Sword:	wōldē.
Tree twigs:	sdziōdzē aralaġ = (poplar) twigs; šgua aralaġ = cypress twigs; tãṅgēraġ aralaġ = fir branches.
Sheep wool:	nġuasē.
Silk threads:	torġuo šdadzē = silk threads.
Little white stones:	mulġan (mula) tsiġan tašē.
Spear tassel:	dzida mān dzioġ.
[68]	
Grain:	dzüldë tara = all kinds of grain.
Sugar:	ġarā.
Gold:	xaldān.
Silver:	miēńgu.
Mani-string:	lang-sheng (Chin.) = wolf string. kimori bōdoġ = air-horse string.
Obo call:	garu (Tib.) lawdzē yara (Tib.). šdo-o-od = the white obo from below I throw at (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 71.]
mändzioġ: Tibetan lcog = pennant, pinnacle, peak. The män seems to come from the Chinese mang = pennant.
-- garu lawtsë yäre šdodla (obo call): Tibetan dkar (pronounced gar) = white,

[68 cont.]

192
*778 [Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rēdziõṅ: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziġa = obo chicks.
Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēṅlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.
[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.
The offerings: yilenē šēṅlie = total offerings.
To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.
To set up a tent: bekärge posġuo-.
[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.
Whose horse is fast: käni mori gurdā?
[524] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.
Whose skill with weapons is great: käni xuawu šgewa?
The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.
Whose strength is great: kãni kudzi šgewa?
Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.
Whose songs are many: käni dō uluona?
[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rēdziõṅ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].
[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.
[621 757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kuñ, ase, mulāsēla, nasā, ġuosāni furõṅlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.
[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[75 cont.]

*778 346 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves. [483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. -- [783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day,

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber [527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[76 cont.]
*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too,
however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people
venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes
from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the
course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[772] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness
[751] (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn,
the mountain, and the tree are essential
for the beñkañ. Therefore
it belongs in the same conceptual
[772] realm as the central fort in the yard,
namely, the widespread myth of
heaven and earth, joined (or separated)
by the world-tree. In this connection,
in the case of the central fort the
mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary,
and in the case of the chorten
chamber the sasa-mountain, which
consists of the mani-cones, as they
are sometimes called. -- Now that a
house is built over it, it is probably
quite secondary. It evidently only
has the function of protection and no
inner relationship to its contents. It
is striking that the sky column likewise
is not erected as the bearer of
the ridge-piece; it is freestanding
and does not extend to the beam.
[171] Also, in the case of the customs

[76 cont.]

192 hung ni-tan-tzu (Chin.) = red clay clods.

*778 Gaps in the wall: tsiãṅguãṅ = windows.

The great urn: lha-wum (Tib.) = spirit urn (receptacle).
ġlo-wum (Tib.) = earth-god urn.
ġlo-wum gõṅluo (Tuj.) = earth-god urn receptacle.

The small urns: sṅoġ dër (Tib. loanword) = magic-urn.

Contents of the receptacle: rdzē̈ (Tib.).
yang-wu (Chin.) = things.

Mountain-earth: sa-sena (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; siru = earth.

Water: tsǖ-sena (Tib.); fdzē̈ = water.

Wood: siṅ sena (Tib.); mōdë = wood.

Buddha gold: šdzer (7) [see Note 7 above]; sädoǵ (Tib.).

Mother of pearl ? wsirë (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; shan-hu (Chin.) = coral.

Precious stone: mădoġ (Tib.) = flower; chen-chu = jewel.

Earth-god spice: ġlo-smän (Tib. loanword).

Little water-bowl: dõṅsär (Tib. loanword).

Black incense: gukual
hei-hsiang (Chin.).

[782] Prayer of consecration: rami.

Red earth: fulan siru; huang-tan (Chin.) = yellow ocher.

[77]

[789] Magic formulas: snaġ (snoġ).

Mandala drawing: sdzi ṅkuor (Tib. loanword).

Ridge-piece: chung-leang (Chin.) = center beam.

Red-hot stone: ts'u-t'an, ch'ü-t'an (Chin.); sōdãṅ; sōdäṅ (7) [see Note 7 above].

Procession around the chorten chamber: sguora (Tib. loanword).

[Pages 77-79 contain the notes given above as numbered foot notes. This section ends on p. 79, and the next section begins on p. 620.]

[625 cont.]

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852

[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.] (roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852
[782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated,
joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon
relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),
[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and
songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied
kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and
filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount
is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

527 1. [Foreign text p. 628.]
[354] The lamps are large copper butter-lamps
or the small copper bowls. -- If there is
no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a
roof slat in front of the door of the main
[177] house. This lamp is very likely copied
from the Chinese celestial lantern. The
Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a
tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let
it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng,
that is, celestial lamp.

[356] [177] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

527 782 [888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight
even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very
old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the
household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room
on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern
with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above].
It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with
the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and
everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open.
The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless
other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the
[783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the
compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown.
The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

527 782 [783] [789] [Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to [789] [171] smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[776] [372] 8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[372] [783] Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[626 cont.]

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[372]
[783]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.] the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177] It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821] The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

527 [627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
888 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
576 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

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[776] The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787] 7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

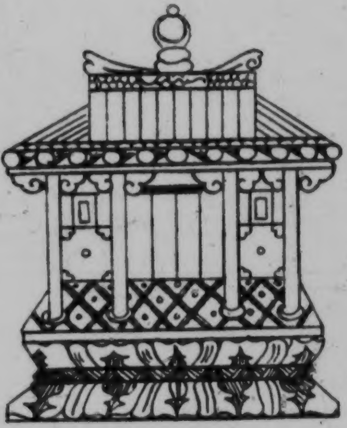
527 574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
loaves of bread, two ells of white
322 cloth, and a small measure of
wheat (six pounds). After the
work is done, this measure
of wheat is put on the house-
● [782] hold altar, and the carpenter
puts his tools on it. The
master of the household
sticks a few burning incense-
sticks among them and puts
the loaves before them.
Then everyone makes a three-
[532]
fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth
until the funeral meal.



Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

[782]
[776]
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7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

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Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[638 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.]
412 the declared opponent of the white
[776] tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger
is powerless against anything that
comes from the dead or is connected
with the dead; he fears coffins, death-
boxes, burials, etc. For that reason
[322] coffin-making is the best opportunity
for making a rolling pin, and there-
fore the rolling pin is propped against the
death-box. The relationship of the
tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutra-
lized. -- People very rarely have a
[322] rolling pin made other than at the time
of a burial; the carpenter must then
plane the pole on a threshing roller,
the enemy of the white tiger. The
millstone also has an effect similar
to that of the threshing roller, for it
crushes the provider of the "white,"
that is, the grain from which the flour
comes.

764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table
with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box.
171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the
● [782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside
from the bone-casket I once saw a
small wooden casket of coffin-like
form beside a death-box. The peo-
[789] ple said a small manlike doll lay in
it. It was supposed to keep misfortune
and death away from the house. The
informant had not yet seen that and
thought that this custom had come from

[638 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.]
171 the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is
[789] put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

764 Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12
● 782 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-
[171] gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The
[354] water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[638 cont.]

764 782 [354] [171] [Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

[264] the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

[171] 11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 782 593 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. [589] [152] Unmarried daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, băn-sãń tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

[561]
[593]

With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

292 Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the
765 death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the
Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

[171] During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as
neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and
worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside.
[302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The
red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a
white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a
thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful
sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the
trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the
woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She
takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and
[301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings,
as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper
plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress
and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper
on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this
as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with
a hemp string.

All the close relatives are required to wear mourning
[602] dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only
[593] exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may
not wear mourning.

764 Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer
tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the
782 house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around
[602] the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on
their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle
soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of
cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however,
but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[639 cont.]

764 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if
● 782 possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the
792 room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for
[177] the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes re-
782 ceive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by
792 the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an ac-
465 counting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes,
[604] to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited, otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
782 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
792 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
465 temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[272] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[262] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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[177] 13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: [illegible]h'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.
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The mother's brother is Solemnly received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box. There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are
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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[642 cont.]

764 [766] a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba
782 and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.] back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] [372] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purification for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 766 [792] Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 602 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The [782] relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea. 764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[646 cont.]

000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 [769] At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small [561 593] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 769 [782] As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea, liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] [177] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.] The Tujen word sēn-miṅ is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The [777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

765 [Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.]
[769] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no
[777] special lucky days for the dead. The day
of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always
an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore
one waits until then. On the other hand,
[764] he claimed that the Tujen formerly never
had cemeteries, but buried their dead
wherever they wished, although not in a
common field; after the introduction of
cremation this was all the more unnecessary.
-- One can scarcely ignore here
the probability of an original double
interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning
[177] lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days
memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese
in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the
chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown
● [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times.
On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out,
makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper.
In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hairstring
from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their
[178] headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays
the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony
has been lost.

765 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day
784 after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead
person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they
[574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but
must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even
[796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear
before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to
[262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

[647 cont.]
765 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
784 food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate
during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
[796] and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automati-
[783] cally lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary.
One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves,
and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead person; it has started its migration. Most people know almost
775 nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do
fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims
on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune,
and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
●[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering
to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray
for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is
carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the
adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the
morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late
evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her
own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over
his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse,
piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it.
Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until
the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still
smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume
the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however,
764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation
like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer,
and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who
[588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the
mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has
766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies
without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one
● [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how-
[604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting
concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is
involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a
death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as
drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation
or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If
766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama
is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de-
[212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of
grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into
which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All
the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

192 [649 cont.]

764 Death box: odõṅ.

Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.

[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzüla.

Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.

To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.

● [782] Prayer tea: rgē tsia.

Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzän kunë xuẹnuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.

Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).

Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.

192 Own family: dzienāni kudë.

601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.

Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: uroġ. Those with different family names.

[608] Artificial kinship: šäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

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[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsịgãn yẹsëni daxu = the owner of the white bones; ku-chu (Chin.).

Mother's brother: nëġä; achiu (Chin.).

Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).

Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).

Sister: agū.

Daughter: fsdzün.

192 He died as a rider: tsürog morina bagaldilã sdzia fugudzia.

764 He died as a settler: sañrëdzi liela guei wōldzia.

Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.

Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).

Lighting pole: xuämbar.

Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.

Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).

769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sën-miṅ (21) [see Note 21 above].

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[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.
[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).
[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

● 782 [822]

241

V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

114

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113] 1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.] detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

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The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

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The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

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2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother. [776]

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782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600

2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[825] [824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony. [782]

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 [782] [264] In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions.

[824 cont.]

241 This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In
789 the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made,
791 which represents the four others; there is also the weather-
[778] torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges
are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the
● [782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer
services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest,
[465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation.
In the case of the simple erection, without any
summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf
of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the
789 soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period
from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day
791 in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest de-
787 termine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the
numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner
determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest
789 mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one moun-
tain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do
778 it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is
[621] chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by
[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands
and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter
about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide.
He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he
adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets,
breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of
grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of
cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and
puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them.
These extra features also apply to the three other tormas,
in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
● [782] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering
[791] and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For
the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate
and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma,
naturally only one direction of the compass can
be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

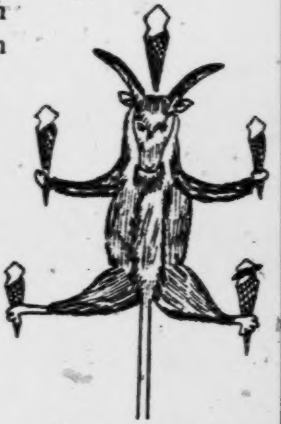
241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they
778 make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit
open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the
tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over
the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains
whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts
off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned
goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

/

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.

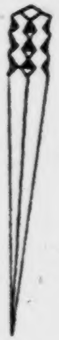
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright
[252] on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.



The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532]

[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.
[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illus-
[782] tration appears here.]



Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 The seed-master places these wedges on the table before
789 the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic
778 formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or
791 the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the
[212] head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the
head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying
in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with
these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and
[788] one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward.
He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and
pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times,
and scatters it over the whole.

241 The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The
789 men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones
and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms
791 usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set,
●782 the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra
[821] features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately
returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer.
[823] Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the
bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst
blowing on the conch.

241 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is
prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid
789 with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about
778 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter
colored red and is given the following extra features: on the
first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle,
and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally
a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals,
deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and
a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the
air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and,
further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).

> 789 3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a
> 778 representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a
> ●[782] mandala. It is interesting that the
> informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and
tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas
[791] in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes
[782] back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the
241 throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from
789 his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the
782 direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the
shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master
[791] takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a threefold kowtow.

With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The
241 men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining
789 meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon
791 priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

[828 cont.]

The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
241 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
789 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
791 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In
former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time
● 782 and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the
weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the
case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only
among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
776 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god Dãntsien Sañ. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-880.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the
[791] Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dãntsãñ (Dãntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[828 cont.]

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789
821

> [Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.] weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241
789
778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged [535] magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed [765] to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241
789
[778]

The pole-goat:	aradziañ (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.
	ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.
The goat:	ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirēdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.

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[782] 8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnaġ: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuax (8) [see Note 8 above] šdor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snaġ (sēnoġ).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sēnoġsa (snaġsa) (Tib. loanword).
peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsioń (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnaġ (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasġa (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the
[621] harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is
an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask
[776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions
of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated
[264] frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The
sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer
782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a
sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con-
787 cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is
[791] only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there
is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its
validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done
anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering
always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If
no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time
of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

241 in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one
•782 mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

787 3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that
[103] bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šënliedzin ulà, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the
[797] greater part of the village (yang-
[778] chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

241
·782 1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of
[791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also
[784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
[735]
2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzēn sawa bi pēngē, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

241 Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep
782 is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least
825 a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would b[illegible]n insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not
[621] be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be
[784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]
241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[825] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an
offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon,
puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This
787 shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then
the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
782 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.
231

[832 cont.]

241 782 231 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 782 252 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking: In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help ~~with the~~ cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 782 791 787 [776] Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indicates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit, and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

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[791]
Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[833 cont.]

241 Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced
782 everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agri-
171 cultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.]
241 The ritual of slaughter and offering
782 described here is typical for all
231 slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

In the case of longer festivals the
241 slaughtered animal is not cut up im-
782 mediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seed-master or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

[833 cont.]

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782 ● [Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.] have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

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To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain:	uladë xoni šënlie- (šënlie-)
Offering throw:	dziarin uġuo = to give throwing away.
	p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area:	dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils:	huodzën sawa;
	k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[835 cont.]

4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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● 782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight [778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõn (1); the way there takes an entire day each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all [791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession [533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

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1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõn,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] Details

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

241 ● 782 624 794 [171] [797] [Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.] but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

241 782 791 It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziañ) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The 241 782 procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

[836 cont.]

241 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books
782 are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the
[628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also,
[346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at
[787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al-
[801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

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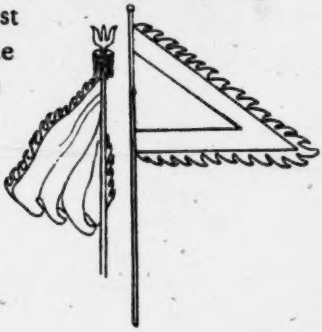
[1] [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[837 cont.]

241 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustra-
tion appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple
● 782 drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the
533 conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large
and is carried on a belt in front of the chest
so that it can be beaten on both sides. The
conch shell is the same as that used at the
incense offering. The trumpets are the
[177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the
cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 Among the flags there are black,
red, yellow, etc. Usually they are pro-
782 vided with colorful borders. There are
also flags with pictures, for example,
of the mountain-spirit. Many flags
also have Chinese sayings sewed on
[532] them, usually in white. There are
no special Tujen names for the flags.
The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks
are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as
desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper
[177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens,
that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words,
[778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit
[791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking
and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely
782 as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and
how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of
787 offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the
[821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging
him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling
him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

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782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offer-
ing is usually connected with the

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.]
The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziañ (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

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●782
[624]
[794]
[534]

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tõrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rĕbuoġĕ (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luăn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luăn rĕgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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[791]

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

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1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[841 cont.]

778 [Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
825 chiang. The rules mentioned here
lead one to surmise that conceptions from
lunar mythology (black-white, circular
horns) are involved here. The preference
for male animals, with the exception of
the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is
also decisive in profane life. People who
[554] have a high opinion of themselves ride
[492] only male horses (gelding), but female
mules; the reddish-brown color with white
mane and white tail is regarded as elegant.
White eye-rings, belly covering, and
[435] white mouth are highly esteemed for all
riding animals of whatever color and help
to determine the price. -- It is also
interesting that among the goats the lamas
prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd
or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away,
nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules,
and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the
[178] case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom,
brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die
a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced.
[688] If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment
of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also,
under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal
[782] for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[842 cont.]

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Word List

778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.
To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.
[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.
Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).
Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).
Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[845 cont.]

789 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must 782 be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household

[778]
[792]

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[846 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.

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Word List

192 Demon escort: rēdzoñwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzē (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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Report

789 . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
[782] and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing.
There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

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[1] [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

Details

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751 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child
755 is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive
measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month
is chosen by preference.

789 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into
791 the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound.
The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

789 The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests
782 bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a
beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,
791
[534]
bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

[848 cont.]

789 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other
778 words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door.
Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon
attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a
soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon
priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them
with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered
by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The
whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter.
[783] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They
do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang,
but on the floor.

The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel,
789 fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them
778 thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine
791 pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake,
frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in
532 the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the
household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures.
[783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves
beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand.
[782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small,
[782] at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter
for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan
barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small
loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep
wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some
silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have
printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once
everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is
[783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put
on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered
torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [787] [791] [532] [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen. ● [782] [171] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755] 4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[850 cont.]

Details

755 The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the
778 figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures
[756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 Then they are put on a tray with the following accom-
panying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some
● 782 pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

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[171]
[789]
2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air,
[787] and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him.
With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from
the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them
while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic
words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171] [789] 5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally
755 actual animals might have
782 been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

[854 cont.]

755 Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to
789 fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

[756]
[787] 1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass.
● [782] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and,
running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound,
789 performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow
756 him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes
[787] mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so
[273] that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

755 [Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
789 about himself with sword and lance,
756 hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up
a straw man, swung a winnowing
shovel and a sieve, danced, and
foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755	House-purification:	rdzõṅwa (rẽdzõ͡ńwa).
789	The torch:	huo-pa (Chin.).
[416]	The stones:	tašë; sa-shih (Chin.).
	Oil-basin:	ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
	Fire-arrow:	ġal sẽmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
	Fire-bow:	ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
	The hemp whip:	uluosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
	The hen:	taǵū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778]	The straw man:	šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

● 782

7. The Earth-god Urn *

777 * See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the
791 foreign text]. [In the translation
787 these notes are given as numbered
footnotes following the designations
for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.

[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the
782 procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer.
The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]

782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be [791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one [787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried. [792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 415 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it [386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 824 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley, white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

[174] 2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[857 cont.]

782 [824] the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay, which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

[778] [386]

[439] 3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

[857 cont.]

782 [Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
778 fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

782 Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who
792 possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama.
[791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches
[357] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the
[784]

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.] As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In
[192] Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdĕr-wĕm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sĕnoġ-dĕr (cf. section,
[178] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

782 [Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.]
792 comes from the fact that the urn is
[778] consecrated with certain conjuration
[192] formulas, sṅags (dha-rani), in other
words, represents a magic treasure.

[784] urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the
[357] household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

782 [858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must
always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic
[778] animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures
and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm
[776] of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please
these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold
[777] down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from
misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

782 6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.]
778 According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

782 778 [Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

776 782 What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the *ġlu* (Tib. *klu*) or *Nagas* belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated [171] among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

Another group to be considered is *šman*. A part of the filling is called *ġlu-smăn* (Tib. *klu-sman*); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

776 [Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
782 *Quellen* (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the *Sman*: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, *Tib. Painted Scrolls* (pp. 720 ff.), regards the *Sman* as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "*sman* means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these *sman* were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding *'lha* and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the *klu* and their feminine counterparts, the *sman*.

782 171 789 The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

● 782 171 789 [Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

192 782 Earth-god: ġlu (glĕ).
[776] Earth-god urn: sĕnoġ-der; sĕnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[778] To buy an urn: sĕnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.
Contents of the urn: rdzĕ (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.] Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling:	yilẽ tawa ndzuomladzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.
Urn binding:	ama budzin = opening-binding.
Sealing wax:	latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[778] Jewel of good fortune:	nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
Buddha gold:	fo-chin (Chin.).
Coral:	surẽ.
Mother-of-pearl:	mädoġ (Tib. loanword).
[824] White rice:	tsiġan tudurġa; no-mi (Chin.).
Yellow rape:	sira yãńsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts
[777] seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
[784] and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar.
The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the
afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are
made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least
another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the
burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts
it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a
mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the
master of the household undertakes the great incense offering
in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate
and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now
rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a
small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and
thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of
the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following
morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery.
Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for
[784] prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at
[351] least another week.

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by
shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas,
however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the
Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas
are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher
rank, but one often invites more (1).

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person
(man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire
village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

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[791] 1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to
[791] its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer.

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791
792] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

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784] Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the mem- ● 782 bers of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas [171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from [792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 824 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself
must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black
hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice,
white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan
species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Conse-
cration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the
type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses
branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces
of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and
must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at
a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces
must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on;
[753] one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his
relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid
its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. In-
stead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This
by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason,
in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any
branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same.
The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of
the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-
master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama
brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares
[792] the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each
case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel,
mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

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2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

[863 cont.]

● 782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the
74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and
in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate,
since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the
fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates
as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect
the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered
with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-
wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles
[792] the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them
taken to the household altar.

782 Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction
532 with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer
determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects
[791] it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the
[792] consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed,
the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the
ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime.
[Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground,
just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring
string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle
that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed.
Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden
or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,
namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side.
The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and
when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the
frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

[864 cont.]

●782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).

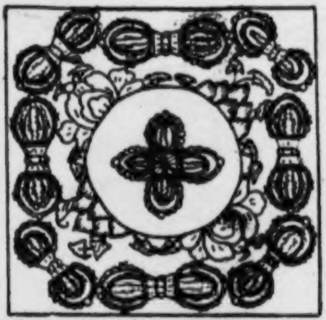
532

4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunderbolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The peonies are supposed to be the sumbol of the flourishing familial good fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

[772]

[824]

[325]



Mandala at the fire-pouring. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

[864 cont.]

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[325]
[351]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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792
[333]

Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws [532] a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[864 cont.]

782 The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day,
[792] immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer,
drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the
incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire
ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting
the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to
it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he
always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up,
which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide
cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees
for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter
will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan
[372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two
little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both
[783] hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it
with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small
table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the
right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the
pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-
seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over
which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner.
[Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray
with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-
spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept
[372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-
lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used
at the cremation.

782 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it
792 in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs.
Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape
of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space
in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with
cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a
hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While
he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

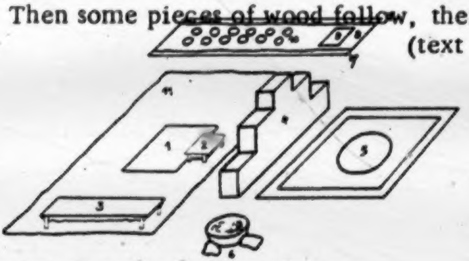
[865 cont.]

782 792 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he has breathed three times.

[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it. Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole. [372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a [372] threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately, the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of

(text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons; 4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6. butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning; 11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the informant.)

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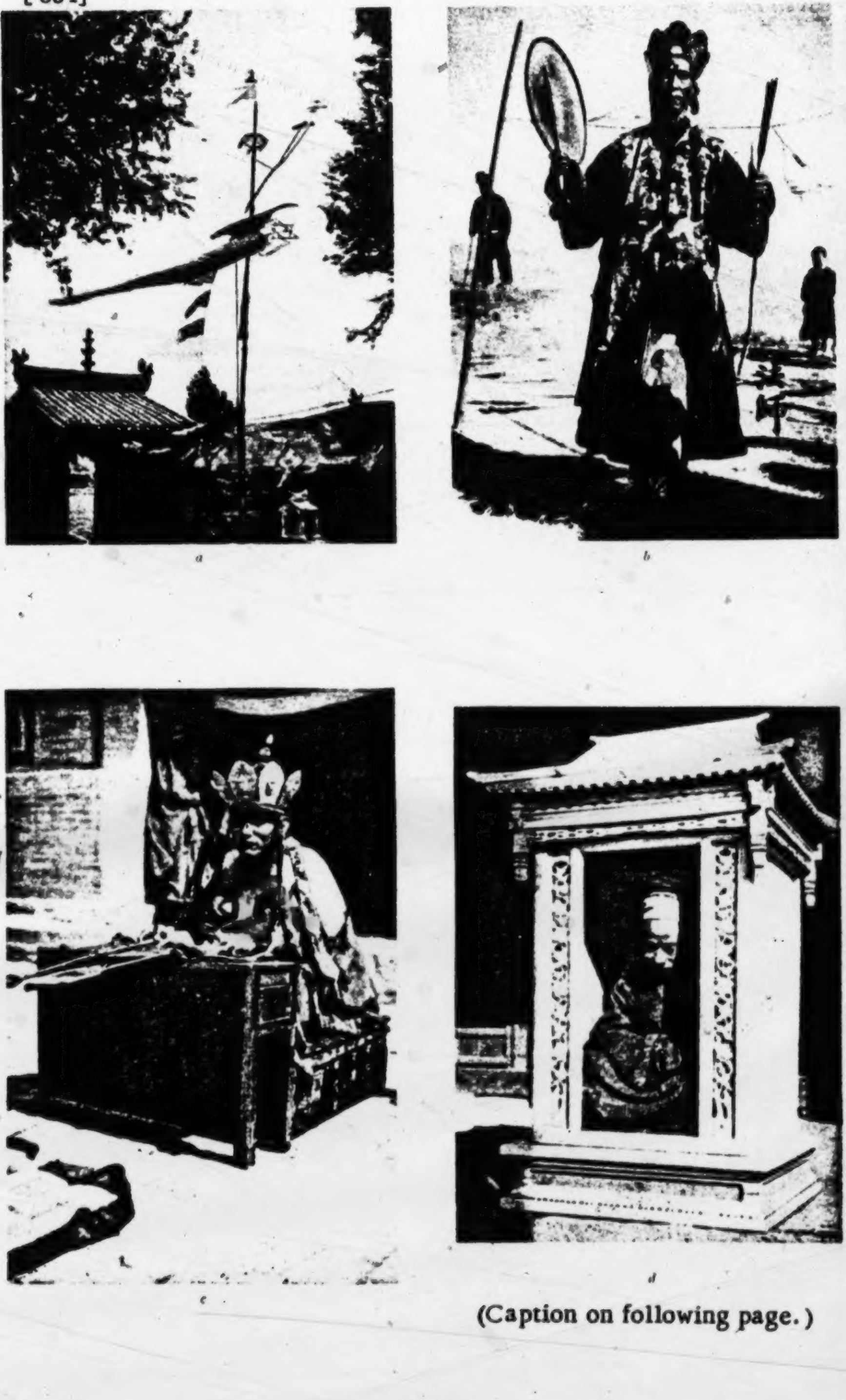

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
292 village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[865 cont.]

782 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different
776 fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the
fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the
horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced
Buddha.

[866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods.
[822] Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The
tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which
they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the
782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow,
[824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black,
black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three
fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring
in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

782 184 6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.] about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The
[302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They
also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the
[792] felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black
sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent
the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

782 [792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] [755] [777] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[776] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; [792] [755] through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away misfortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

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782 372 7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate [776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, *Homa*, is involved (cf. Lessing, *loc. cit.*). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan *sbyin-sreg*. *sbyin* is pronounced *jin*, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (*źüin-tsēğ*). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under *sbyin-sreg:* "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, . . . *sbyin-sreg-gi* [869] *rdsas* clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. . . . *sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ* . . . first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For *yam-šiṅ*, cf. the Tujen foreign word *yiew-siṅ*.) "*Homa* is the

[866 cont.]

782 372 [Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsioġ and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsioġ fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsioġ (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsioġ with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 792 [171] just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

192 782 8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guãm-basoma) west

[866 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
192 of Tangkar the following details and
782 variations:
Fire-pouring: żüin (yüin)-tsēġ; cf. the
Tujen corruption dzun-tsioġ.
Ground-drawing (mandala): sdziṅkuor
(Tib.).
Separation wall: lămbăn (Tib.). Cf.
lăngaṅ (Tujen) and lan-kan (Chin.).
Pouring spoon: rgãṅ zăr (Tib.).
Butter-spoon (for liquid butter): tombō
(Tib.).
Firewood (which is placed in octagonal
824 form on the burning-place): xsiġ ġa (Tib.).
192 Consecration-wood (which is thrown with
782 the spices into the fire): yăm šēṅ (Tib.);
cf. the Tujen word yiew siṅ.
Wood for the white fire-pouring: nia-rēx (Tib.) or, according to another
pronunciation, niăw rsēġ (Tib.);
hsi-fan liu (Chin.) = Tibetan willow;
chi-chua liu (Chin.) = hens-foot-willow.
Black thorn: tsĕrnaġ (Tib.); or sdzirwa
(Tib.); xara tsitsĕrnaġ (Mongol.).
Wood for the red fire-pouring: uombō
(Tib.); balaġ (Mongol.); sa-liu (Chin.),
probably the High Chinese sha-liu
(= sand willow) is meant.
Tamarisk: sōgă. This word is Mongolic and Tujen in any case. The Chinese also say so-kai for it, evidently an approximation of the sound. I also heard this word from Tibetans. It is likewise used for the red fire-pouring. One prefers these switches for whip handles.

[866 cont.]

192 [Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

•782 Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziãṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[824]
[322]

[778] Fire-torma: dãmbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sēru dżiwi źũin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngĕ dżiwi źũin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi żũin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: džoġguei dżiwi żũin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

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824 Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dšō (Tib.); budĕ (Mongol.).

Beans: tšamā (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sō (Tib.); sōtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sō and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõṅgur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

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[824]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Butter-tsamba: sǖosën (Mongol.); a mixture to which other additions are added.

Blue flowers: džëyǟṅgë (Tib.); gōxu (according to another dialect, kōku) dzidzigë (Mongol.); lǟn-ts'ao (Chin.) = blue grass.

Individual additions: tsiawar rdzē (Tib.).

All kinds of additions: ondõṅ rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

[824] Monk's herb: durë̄wā (Tib., Mongol.); ping-ts'ao (Chin.) = ice herb; tao-seng-ts'ao (Chin.) = Taoist-Buddhist monk's herb; instead of seng (monk), the sign for sheng is also written; that may be false, however. It is unclear to me which herb is involved.

All the names have been written according to the dialect of the monks in Tsatsang-szu, who mostly come from the region of Dulǟn (Tsaidam).

Fire-pouring: dzuntsioġ (Tib. loanword) (9), suri = to pour fire-pouring, DMF 73.

9. [Foreign text p. 870.] Tsǖordzi: Tibetan c'os = doctrine, rje = master. The representative of the monastery abbot is designated by it, teacher. -- Kǟnbō̈: Tibetan mk'an = master, po = particle. mk'an po = abbot of a monastery, professor, head of a lamasery. -- gãṅsǟr: Tibetan gaṅ sa? = tube. -- [824] dziãṅgõn: probably arose from the Tibetan gTsaṅ = Tib. province, and sṅo = herb. -- ndoluwa: perhaps is connected with the Tibetan sgrol ba = the goddess Dolma, to

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sändõṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṃha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, maṇi = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logõṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smǟn (Tib.).
dalān dierān sǟmba smǟn = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lǟńgãṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gãṅsǟr (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gãṅsǟr = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yüelwa = air-cloth.
rlõṅ yǟg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuămbar.
782 Flint and steel: kidie.
[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.
Ordinary fire: araṅ̃ka ġal.
At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather:
dsuntsioġ surĕwa, dierdzia sdzũen uguei.
At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioǵ
surewa, mō iliesgĕ xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).
[372] Firewood: taw siṅ (Tib.) = oven-wood.
Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siñ (Tib.).
192 Tibet-herbs: dziaṅ̃goṅ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
782 tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.
Tibet-flowers: kănba (Tib. loanword).
824 ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).
White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwā (9) [see Note 9 above];
pai-ts'ao (Chin.).
Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).
Tamarisk?: guănbō (xuănbo); sōgă.
Poplar wood: mōdĕ = wood.
White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.
Black thorn: xara rĕguodzĕ.
192 Horse-god: šdamtsĕni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
782 ma-wang (Chin.).
Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).
776 Lion-god: săndoṅ̃mani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].
Water-faced Buddha: logon rĕdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the
buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance
among the people that might be expected. They know of
796 Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth
535 day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of
Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow
Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha,
791 and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call
sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full
788 warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This
756 Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people
than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with
the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people.
Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the
world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called
753 ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune,
777 failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the
731 plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom
the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com-
782 bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all
the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the
Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring
Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It
is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this
world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in contrast
764 to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through
the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at
any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation
in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power.
This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long
as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the
person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer,
so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explanations
[171] correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left
undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are
vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing
is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation.
Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this
soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any
rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites
is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish
to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It becomes
a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee
589 from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls.
The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for
in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen
conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female
[588] person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offerings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[769] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[764] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are
[782] so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
774 even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[573] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
[753] is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said
that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape
of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[756] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This
[755] catching of the soul is called: suniedzẽ xura-. It is unclear from
this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same
as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central
Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less
clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[209 cont.]

772 The sky-column and world-mountain (world-tree) are emphasized 778 above all at the central fort and the chorten chamber. In both cases, however, a strong emphasis on the realm of the underworld, which is represented by the urns, is also striking. The latter are nothing other than the realm of the Nagas, who play such an important role in the Bon religion and point to the pre-Buddhistic roots of the conception of the world. The arrangement of the urns and of the scrolls in the urns mirrors the world order in the four directions of the compass and their center. •[782] The treasure urns thus represent the wealth of the earth. At the same time they are regarded as an offering to the earth-deities, whereas the main urn is the dwelling of the deities. To what extent magical effects are intended still remains to be investigated. In this connection one must also take into consideration the burying of objects in general, as, for instance, in the case of the obo, the weather fort, the warding-off magic against sickness, the construction of a compound, etc.

The air-horse on the *mani*-tree (*mani*-flag) seems to be less closely connected with the world-mountain. Indeed, it is frequently set up separately. The connection with the *mani*-tree is probably due to the circumstance that it simultaneously represents the four directions of the compass (2). At the same

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2. The five cloth tabs on the *mani*-flag (cf. *Anthropos* 47, 1952, p. 56, Fig. 7 [see p. 100 above in the HRAF translation]) are evidently a curtailment and combination of formerly variously colored air-horse flags; four of these are regarded as the bearers of the air-horse- or wind-master and are arranged according to the four directions of the compass. This conclusion comes from a Tibetan text, for whose French résumé I am indebted to Professor Doctor R. Stein (Paris).

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
● [782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to
what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering,
slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the
incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeṅlie, which corre-
sponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance,
šdimie šeṅlie-, to offer bread; tsidziǧ šeṅlie-, to offer flowers;
xonini šeṅlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression
šeṅlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic
offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of addi-
tions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads.
Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that
smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, im-
plies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense
offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a
Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine,
butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for
instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree,
the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and con-
sumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are
poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs
here, too.

[212 cont.]

782 [778] [574] The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] [778] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. [171] Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 574 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 826 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized: the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an
782 offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under šdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow
[831] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign
[302] of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103.
One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a
[588] girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and
776 what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[214 cont.]

782 776 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

782 771 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujens. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

782 788 Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types
of prayer under the expression yaṅdzila-, to implore, to request,
and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their
attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer,
however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are
[792] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common
designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen,
that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom
mošĕ, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching.
In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer,
something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite
rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the
Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the
laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests,
Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of
magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the
shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of
their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely
linked.

771
5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not
dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[220 cont.]

772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tieṅgëre applies 776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity 192 in the constantly used formula: šge tieṅgĕre, uluon purĝan (the great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purĝan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

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b) The Heaven Cult

● 782 After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word torõṅ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni torõṅ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini torõṅ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as torõṅ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the conscious-
773 ness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergān when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzūlġano, tsiani torõṅni kuġuo tieṅgërdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven.
[192] The word šenlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

[222 cont.]

782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These, however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 539 [171] [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

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[824] 4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name šgua (= Tibetan šug-pa) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J.F.Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

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[*223 cont.*]

beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty, he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (*šdeliedzi šge fdzaṅ ġarġani*)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great incense offering, he implored the light heavens (*šge fdzaṅni ġarġadzi kuġuo tieṅgĕrni yaṅdziladzia*)." Verses 158-167 describe another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers [824] flowers (*kănba* flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored the countless spirits... (*undur ġadadu ġaridzi šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya*, *šge tieṅgĕrni yaṅdzilaya*, *ŭluon purġani yaṅdzilaya*...)." The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact that it takes place on a mountain. None of the *purġan* is mentioned by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (*sc.* the first emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted [776] *Sdeṅlatsien-saṅ* (= the highest heaven lord) looked down." (*Udurdu fdzaṅ ġarġadzi sōdzamba*. *dōrōdza šge fdzaṅni ġarġano*, *fdzaṅni funini tieṅgĕrni udieni baġa niedzia*. *Sdeṅlatsien-saṅ dorodzi nōdzia*.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the *Šdeṅlatsien-san*, cf. below.) The passage concerning the heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222, runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense pushed open the gate of heaven." (*Di yōdzi tieṅgĕrni šge udie tada kurdzia*. *šge fdzaṅni funini tieṅgĕrni udieni baġa niedzia*.) On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven will succeed.

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain) and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white känba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow känba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzaṅbeṅ ġarġaya, šge tieṅgēre amudadzi, uluon purġan yaṅdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white känba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya; šge fdzaṅni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad
odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of
the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to
these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are
distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go
[773] back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the
Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that
the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A.H. Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-
Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already
been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and
they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as
is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the
782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

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6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

[224 cont.]

● 782 174 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the incense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense 782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collective [776] name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred [823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

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7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with *brGya-byin*, the lord of the gods."

[823]
[773] 8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression *ġarġa*, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanis-
[756] tic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to
[773] heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings
[241] that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[225 cont.]

782 241 thanksgiving festivals. (Cf. D. Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos 37-40, 1942-45, pp. 867-874.)

That a true heaven-offering is involved is clearly expressed, loc. cit.: "It is already apparent from the entire offering performance and the words spoken in connection with it that it is an offering to heaven. To the question, 'You are therefore making an offering to the gods in the temple?' the old man responded: 'No, [226] we are making an offering to heaven... This offering is a veneration of heaven... I have already said it; we are thanking heaven for the yield of the year. He cares for seed and man and livestock'..." (Anthropos, op. cit., p. 873). The same statement must also apply to the sowing festival at which the ceremonies are almost the same.

782 241 174 Now it is striking that it is precisely in an agricultural rite, sowing and harvest festivals, that a sheep offering takes place. I was later able to visit many such festivals and to determine the actual form, which is more in keeping with the character of agriculture and shamans. In the valleys, namely, in the Chinese area of settlement, no sheep, but -- at least preferably -- a pig is offered. This pig is surrounded with many rites, among which a regular procession with the sacrificed pig takes place. The shamans accompany this procession with drum-beating and prayers. I observed it thus for instance in Tsung-chai and environs. In the mountains, on the other hand, among the Tujen, a sheep is sacrificed preferably, although the Tujen also keep pigs. There remains, therefore, only the one explanation that the original form of these agricultural festivals is connected with a pig offering and that the sheep offering of the Tujen has replaced this as a foreign body. The reason for this lies close at hand. The Tujen, according to their tradition, were once shepherds, and many elements of a herding culture can still be seen among them. With the transition to agriculture, the spring festival of the shepherds evidently became connected with the sowing festival, and the autumn festival of the shepherds with the harvest festival of the agriculturalists. Since, however, the sheep was a sacrificial animal that they were devoted to,

[226 cont.]

782 241 174 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 788 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated, and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yaṅdzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieṅgĕre mudie (heaven knows); and tieṅgĕre
[174] tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieṅgĕre

[227 cont.]

782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

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776 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the designation tieṅgĕre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieṅgëre, uluon purġan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773
776 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeṅglatsien Saṅ is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[229 cont.]

174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N.N.Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W.A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the
[821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human
[823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P.W.Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

[230 cont.]

776 incense burning you say: 'Heaven, you know it. What then 782 does heaven know?' -- 'Heaven knows all, he knows the attitude of my heart, he knows that I want to venerate him.' " -- This oft-cited saying in literal translation runs: heaven to know; freely, the heaven knows; or, the heaven is knowing. This is not a petitioning prayer, but simply a pure acknowledgment of this characteristic of heaven, and it implies, according to the explanation given, an omniscience.

Other expressions are found for this consciousness of the people. Thus, a frequently used oath-formula for a deposition, for example, runs: "Heaven is not high; heaven knows it (tieṅgëre undur guei; tieṅgëre mudiem)." The meaning is: Heaven is high, to be sure, but not so high that it would not know. (Cf. DMF 416; where this sentence likewise is designated as a "formule de serment" [oath-formula].) Another phrase that is often used runs similarly: "tsimi mō gedzi yidza, tieṅgëre mudiem. If (I) have done evil to you (if evil has happened to you), then heaven knows it"; cf. DMF 416. This especially emphasizes the knowledge of the inner attitude.

If one now adds generally that the whole veneration of heaven in offering and prayer is done under the presupposition that heaven also knows of human distress, it may be asserted that the people's consciousness of heaven simply as the knowing one is very much alive.

776 The belief in the knowledge is connected with the omnipresence of heaven. To be sure, it cannot be expressly ascertained, but the Tujen nonetheless have a conception of it when they say: "Heaven is there where one places it (tieṅgëre andzi tedza, andzi-i)." According to the linguistic usage this means: Heaven is everywhere. (Cf. DMF 416, where the same meaning is explained.) This phrase seems evidently to be determined by the strong impression [231] that the all-encompassing firmament makes on the unconstrained mind of the people, especially in the steppes and on the mountains on the Koko Nor. As far as one [772] wanders, whether by day or night, the endless heaven extends over man. It is really an all-encompassing bell, which the Tujen imagine to be fastened to a nail in the universe.

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears
in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It
[241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects
man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the
[782] offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest
thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced
back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering,
agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing
[773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend:
"Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from
heaven (tieṅgĕre dž̇oġ nãṅladzia; tieṅgĕrdza perlõṅgĕ bõdzi
rĕdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon
for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the
cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise
if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the
exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated
from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of
577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in
626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and
entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience
the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physical
[192] heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense.
Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil
diesẽn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua
(you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates
the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest
spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas
that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the
inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to
you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it."
Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is
not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given
by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling.
[787] It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One
day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and
956 recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is
acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the
792 monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious
to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its
inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the
case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the
coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was
chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free
gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum
that for a long time it was punished by having to do without
a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of
756 his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of cer-
787 tain *actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is*
not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial
force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the
spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power
from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain
preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation
prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical
● [782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect
in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not
draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[782] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, however, by no means excludes all magic. His special position suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
756 wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but receives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a different appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uniform type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen, p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bȫ (bȫge) and in Tujen bȫ, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [64]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long 792 wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted 346 in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples.

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha [532] statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. [782] One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously.

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

[p. 23(A)]

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 772
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 772
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng [5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 772
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to commit the texts to memory, punishments being inflicted 792 if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste 874 or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

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[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-hrun—Gelüng.

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second 782 vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the 792 vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a [484] lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

After the second vows, the scientific and religious 792 education is complete. The lama can then read a text 874 more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

[p. 57(B)]

question of whether a substantial principle underlies the 829 soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of 114 the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the 829 Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main 869 feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children 782 every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for [789] as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil 829
spirits, which the good spirits could not master. 869

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with 782
their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is 777
that Monguors never perform any important act with-

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[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan,* that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room; sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* **47** (1): 43, 1952; **48**: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.,* 239-245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **6**: 67.

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in 782
an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant 731
spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most [132]
dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused 821
by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole 829
religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encoun- 782
ters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the 796
Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful 789
scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive [113]
and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement.

[p.97(A)]

attended by the whole community. Then he sits on his 782
low table, in theatrical military attitude, shaking his 796
head and ringing his bells. At the moment his spirit 789
possesses him, the cypress fire is increased. The whole attendance, kneeling, worships the spirit dwelling in him with incense sticks in their hands and prostrations. The chief of the village, on bended knees, asks humbly first of all, for protection against hail in the summer and for a prophecy concerning the peaceful reaping of the harvest. Then the spirit, by means of the Kurtain, promises a peaceful summer, or specifies what kind of rites have to be performed to achieve the benefit of peace.

In villages where there is no Kurtain, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family, orders the statue to be carried in the sedan chair into the temple yard, while the whole audience kneels with incense sticks in their hands; the cypress fire is lit. The chief, kneeling, asks the spirit about the hail scourge. If the sedan chair becomes so heavy as to crush down the carriers, the prognostication seems awful, and the chief proposes to perform such or such a rite; if the sedan chair continues crushing the carriers, a propitiatory sacrifice is promised, the attendance craves for pardon, and the sedan chair is carried into the temple.

In the first days of the New Year, all over the country, the talk runs only on the predictions proferred in neighboring villages about hailstorms. In every family horoscopes are cast several times. It is a real obsession all over the country and nobody seems to be entirely assured, despite the reassuring answers of the spirits, for so many times the hopes have been illusory. Unfavorable predictions seldom mar the spirit of the festivities of the New Year. After New Year's the busy agricultural season begins with the carrying of fertilizer, plowing, and sowing. The fields turn greener and greener every day, and at the beginning of the fourth moon (May), immediately after the spring rites, performed in order to implore good crops, the preparations for the rites against hail are begun.

A month from now, all over the country, on mountains, or on hills, or on hillocks and knolls in the valleys there will be seen here a stretched goat skin, its legs spread out and pierced with daggers, the head erect with a dagger between the horns, impaled on a pole. There, a rudimentary manikin, its outstretched arms made with boughs, holding a bow and an arrow; next to the manikin a wooden hammer and raven all stuck on poles. These are the places where rites have been performed against hail, and inside some of the mounds dwells the spirit protector against hail, the celebrated White Tiger. Every Monguor village and nearly every Chinese village in the country have many such hills. The outlook for the country has become depressing for the Monguors. [p.97(B)]

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different mountains, 796
some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone.
His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

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[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

[p.98(B)]

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the 756
jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The 796
triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the 782
square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and 789
bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

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[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. [171] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items.

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

[p.99(A)]

entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die 756
under the same circumstances as the dog. 796

I was told by several reliable old men that years ago 782
an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried
alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a 789
far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed.

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite 782
in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in 789
a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese.

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake

[p.99(B)]

buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits 782
whom they officially use for combating hail. 789

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[3]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the 782
spirits after some time lose their powers and are sub- 796
ject to decay. Consequently, they have to be nur- [776]
tured and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day.

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

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[3] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

[p.100(A)]

gate (throne of the White Tiger god) and a black bowl 782
is put on the roof of the gate. 796

The parade starts on the left side of the village (shamans start on the left side and lamas on the right side), with banners at the head, and the horn (ox horn) is blown. On every mound the same rites are performed: a dance, a throne (stake) thrust into the mound, two black bowls buried near the throne, some paper banners planted, one hammer and one raven fixed on a stick, and the manikin, with bow and arrow pointing to the northwest. Some earth is added to the mound, which is put in good shape. The parade turns three times around the mound; on the third turn the whole group faces the northwest and howls three times, and then they start toward the next one.

When they return to the temple the shaman starts his dance, while the audience kneels and makes prostrations. Then the offered sheep is divided into as many parts as there are families in the village, and each receives a part. The tail and a hind leg are given to the shaman. On the most important mound, a plank is erected (it has to be stolen to be effective), on which a sealed statement is pasted, forbidding the pasturing of animals in the crops during three months and fixing fines for a horse, cow, or sheep caught straying in the crops. Pasturing of animals and chopping of fuel on the sacred mountain of the village are forbidden as is the felling of trees for three months and the singing of obscene songs in the village. The spirits must not be disturbed or offended, and liberty is not allowed to be taken with the conventional morals. The fines consist of a fixed amount of oil, incense sticks, paper, or cash, to be devoted to the upkeep of the temple.

MORE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST HAIL

LAMAS INVITED TO RECITE TEXTS

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789

Despite the promises of the shamans on the feast of spring, the performance of shamanistic rites on a new hill, and the strengthening of the old hills by means of adding magical power to them, in the fourth month the chiefs of the villages invite two or more lamas to recite texts for a couple of days, on top of the highest mountain situated inside the village land. Maybe Buddha might lend a helping hand also, and in order to assume his protection they organize a procession with the 108 sacred books of the *Kanjur*.

PROCESSION WITH THE SACRED BOOKS

A chief is appointed for the performance of the rite. He goes, with 108 men of the village, to the lamasery to borrow the books. The village defrays the expenses of a collation of butter tea with *tsamba* for the lamas, and a fixed amount of butter to be burned in the lamps before the Buddha statues in the temple. The next morning the procession starts from the village temple with at least one member from each family. The ritual

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789

cypress offering, Wei-sang, is first performed in the temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogenous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.[4]

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goat skin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mountain of the village—not on the sacred mountain. A big fire of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during the entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*[5] and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.[6] Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual

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[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

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[5] *Torma:* a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling, op. cit.*, chap. XIV.)

[6] According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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curses upon the *tormas,* which will be thrown to the evil 782
spirits—the big *torma* in the direction of the northwest, 789
and the small ones in the direction of the four points of the compass. In the meantime the goat is killed and skinned, the head and hoofs being left attached to the skin which is then stretched and fixed on a post. Magical daggers are attached to the feet and head. The goat in threatening attitude faces the northwest, where the hail spirits are supposed to dwell, and challenges them. Then horns are blown and *tormas* thrown and the goat will protect the crops against hail during the whole summer.[7] The Monguors assert that in former times they did not use the goat for this purpose, but the horse, and that a horse skin was fixed on the post.[8]

RITE ON THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN OF THE VILLAGE

Since the village is still uncertain and disturbed after all these resources have been exhausted, it is customary that on an auspicious day, without the attendance of representatives of any religion, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family of the village, go to the top of the highest mountain of the village. They go with banners, drums, cymbals, horn, in front, and carrying the god or goddess of the temple in the sedan chair, in order to implore, under the vast dome of the blue sky, the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits." In a primitive oven, built with superimposed stones, a bushel of cypress leaves, pounded and passed through a sieve, are burned with some butter and roasted spelt, colza, linseed, and wheat (the kinds of grain planted by the Monguors), and some water is sprinkled over it; 108 butter lamps made with dough are lit and prostrations are made nine times. The customary cry is howled to all the spirits, notifying them of the act of adoration for them all, and the god or goddess sitting in the sedan chair seems to implore "Heaven and all the spirits" with the villagers together. Finally, prostrations are given to the god or goddess in the chair, and

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[7] According to Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.,* 215, among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia on the grave. "a reindeer is killed, its skin is left together with the antlers and hoofs, fastened upon a bar horizontally fixed to two trees and left hanging there. This is the reindeer which will be used by the spirit (soul) of the deceased for going to the lower world. If there is no reindeer they use a horse and its skin in the same function and manner."

Owen Lattimore. The Gold tribe "Fishkin Tatars." *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* **40**: 57 and 379, 1933, notes that the Gold tribe, "Fishkin Tatars," use "two slender stakes or wands, on the top of which are impaled two wooden beast figures, with four legs and tail. The legs are made by sticks thrust through the body and protruding at both sides. They looked to be otters, perhaps weasels, or sables . . . There are two wands, one much more short and slender than the other, each impaling a Keku (cuckoo or wood-pigeon) . . . these divinities keep guard over the whole house and courtyard."

[8] See Schröder, *op. cit., Die Pfahlziege,* 825, where a philosophical explanation of the rite is provided. For the horse sacrifice among the Buryat Mongols, see Jeremiah Curtin, *A journey in southern Siberia,* 44 *sqq.,* Boston, Little, Brown, 1909.

782● 789 the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

[731] At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

175 177 An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!"[9]

[792] 796 782 On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. [784] The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[171] [10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

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The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796 and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782 banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops [illegible] the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672] for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776] of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

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celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [771] the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

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796 782 small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers[11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

821 782 The observance by the young people of twenty-one days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

789 756 Old Monguors always recall that in former times, when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

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[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262-263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen*, *Fuchs* 1: 40.

no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of 789
the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters 782
is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather 789
sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain 796
top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12]

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return
after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief [622]
of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against

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[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542.

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 796
seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756
sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 881
chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773
made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756
shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 776
spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776]
portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 776
temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756
they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782
Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[9] The present rite takes the place of the

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[9] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

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former human sacrifices; consequently blood and the 776
soul of a deceased person is needed for the nurturing 756
of the spirits. 782

The rite is performed at night. The shamans and the young folk leave the temple in order to capture the soul of a deceased human being. Sometimes they go far away, according to the indication of their spirits. Five fortresses are built by means of incense sticks planted in the ground in the form of a square, one at each corner according to the points of the compass, and one in the center. Circles are drawn around each of them. Then follows the beating of the drums and cymbals, dances, and cracking of the whips on the ground. The chief of the shamans howls at the top of his voice, "Is the northern fortress already built?" All the shamans answer by howling in the same way; this is repeated for each of the fortresses. Nuts and dates are thrown by the chief of the shamans on the four corners, and on the center; he throws some of them into the air, to attract the roaming souls of deceased people. A bottle is planted in an inclined position in a bushel containing wheat, and is supported by burning incense sticks. The shamans start their wildest dance, drearily howling at the tops of their voices, and cracking whips, in the middle of the pitch-dark night. The burning incense sticks no longer support the bottle, and it falls flat; the chief of the shamans rushes to the bottle, grasps it, and runs as fast as possible to the temple, followed by the other shamans and the young folk.

The temple gate is shut tightly. A new wild dance follows, until all of a sudden the chief of the shamans grasps a chicken, jerks off its head, and gathers its blood in a pot. He cries again, asking the gathering three times, "Are the souls here?" and runs inside the temple rooms and presents the bottle containing the gathered souls at the mouth of each of the statues and the painted gods on the walls, cajoling, wheedling and caressing them saying, "Eat, eat please! Do you like it? It is a wonderful meal, eat some more, there is plenty." Then taking the pot with blood he performs the same ceremony, "Drink, drink!" The spirits are nurtured.

He takes the pot containing the horoscope sticks placed in the temple, throws them on the ground and

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times the White Tiger devoured a person every year, as mentioned above. There is a widespread belief in human sacrifices demanded by spirits in India and Tibet (A. David Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 207, Paris, Plon, 1929. L. A. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 516). It is noted by Helmut Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 175), as practiced by the Hsienpi in Manchuria and Mongolia at the beginning of the year; it was well known in China in former times (De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 79. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, Index, Sacrifices Humains, 2164). Helmut Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 161–162, also notes spirits called *Sri* eagerly attacking small children, sucking their blood, and devouring them. Garma Sanschejew (*op. cit.*, 592), notes among the shamans belief in a kind of spirit eager to attack and devour the children; parents know that when children start crying suddenly such spirits are around. No wonder that this belief, spread all over Asia, is still very strong at present among the Monguors.

examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the
minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence
of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [682]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782 powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [782] stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795 not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175 Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795 made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795 the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776 try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795 territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778 the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in cupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of 795 this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.[15]

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[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in 795 their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the start- 782 ing of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields [241] the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations.

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.[16] For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some [823] powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713–741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn: one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are

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[15] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 100.

[16] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

[p. 113 (B)]

said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who 795
must be propitiated by the offering of an urn. 782

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.[17] 795
On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole 778
which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.[18]

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are 778
not only honored on the tops of their respective moun- 782
tains. Because it is impossible to climb the mountain 795
every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit

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[17] Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

[18] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 68–69.

Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the 778
courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by 782
him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. 795
Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, [562]
were never allowed to enter the small temple. The
same prohibition existed for the women against visiting
this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country 795
honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, 796
usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon,
and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the
villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets
off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap [319]
spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces
of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

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[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

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people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in 785
undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 776

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, belonging 782
to the circumscription of the big spirit of the 756
celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes [20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again,

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[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

and the group then marched three times around the 782
Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from 756
Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration
of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is [562]
for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed 795
like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on 782
top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22]

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Weisand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to
be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, [753]
which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

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[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

[p.115(B)]

795
782

devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips of paper on which are printed the Buddhist "flying wind horses" are accustomed to performing this rite on the top of the sacred hill.

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.[28] The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

[772]

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated.

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the "Spirit of Heaven" recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain—at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the "Spirit of Heaven" is called first and the offering is made first

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[28] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168.

[p. 116(A)]

to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the 795
time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24] 752

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

796 The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanksgiving meeting," is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped.

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, [754] bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped

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[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

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776 782 A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat.

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

776 782 776 The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors.

776 782 [622] An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat.
The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, [756]
and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence.

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

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villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, 776
it seems, should be considered because of the fact that 782
so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a 795
family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or 231
non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, 825
in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice
this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very [174]
fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, saying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

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[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 852
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

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[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

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the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the 795
twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, 562
all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have 354
to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the 776
women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protegés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

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trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates 795
it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come 562
back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In 354
the early morning the elders will honor it also. 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit 782
of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say."

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is 782
always offered devoutly to the hearth god.

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the 776
wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper 354
is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper rib- 372
bon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red- 562
fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit.

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The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of 776
the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Some- 354
times the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes 372
a single female, or a single male. The traditional pic- 562
ture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, notwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST 776

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately 782
carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the 795
stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the 776
guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols 782
perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a 795
dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the guest.[29]

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES 796

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep,

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[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

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every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity 776
of the family. 592

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the 776
families is very peculiar. Once a family starts wor- 428
shipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in 782
that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose 592
its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop.

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is 688
a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li 776
of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, 592
Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

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guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in-
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of 776
the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

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cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

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to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777
Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685
a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556
possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 782
The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685
rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 782 ●
it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556
on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

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[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.' " Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français,* 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.,* 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.,* 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha.* Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker,* 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale,* Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

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with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 792
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

Such constructions are never built inside the villages 731
or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a 792
road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the 346
village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against h[illegible]s that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in 731
their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red 782
cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

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When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although 776 they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that "*uluon purgan*" means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities.

Because in the formula "*Tiengere,*" often "*Sge Tiengere,*" "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each [823] of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, "*Uluon purgan.*"

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking 771 prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit 776 of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[3]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the 772 spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to [782] offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are

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[3] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p.179 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 782
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p 150(A)]

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772 of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776 perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 796 rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776 the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177] Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still persists 796 among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782 may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the 796
Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which 782
is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is 796
honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits."

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At [585]
marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already 776
been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits."

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were

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[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

N
*563 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when
M they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with
342 them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains
591 with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and
592 his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry
on the prosperity of the family.

N Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people
*563 of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are re-
M warded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick
342 foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.
M Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written
[351] in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and
• [782] at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's
[353] room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of
the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low
[352] table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

N b. Food, drink and tobacco

*563 Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not con-
M tinue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultur-
262 al economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to
[231] the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic
animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebra-
M tions. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is
[252] always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike
the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses,
M mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known
[794] as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting main-
ly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and
colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very
little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables
pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter
M and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.
[412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The
family also bakes its own bread.

N The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they
*563 lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen.
M
264 Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their
415 gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat.
*563 Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially,
M have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not
273 uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of
[431] any festival occasion.

N The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-
*563 stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some
M
276

N of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law
*563 may not sit, even on the floor.

M The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a
576 conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is con-
[264] sidered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with
[603] a person of position or rank.
[554] The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of
[561] the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex.
Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The
[574] same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N i. Celebrations and festivals

*563 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor
M worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the
614 cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders
796 and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to
N their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the
*563 prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some out-
M side on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to
614 the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and
527 the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the
273 monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival
*563 at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is par-
M ticularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as
562 punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation.
[558] The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status
[852] in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to
[782] pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms
[852] lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the